Indigenisation of Traditional Performing Arts in Japan:
Transformation of Indian Elements in Gagaku

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1. Introduction: Bridging the Ancient and the Modern

A review of the history of Japanese traditional performing arts reveals two prominent phases of internationalisation. The first phase was around the Nara period (AD 710-794). Kenzuishi and Kentoushi, Japanese envoys to the Sui and the Tang dynasties of China, were sent to learn. Various performing arts were brought to Japan from China, Korea, India, and other Asian countries along with Buddhism. The second phase began in the Meiji period and continues to date (1867 onward). After the isolationist foreign policy ended in 1853, several missions were sent abroad to learn about Western civilisation and gain knowledge from these countries. Besides their classical music tradition, Western musicology established in the late nineteenth century was brought to Japan. Japanese musicologists began to analyse their own traditional music according to this new discipline in the early twentieth century. A few Japanese musicologists and other scholars showed interest in the music and performing arts which flourished in the first phase.

The common feature between both phases was that the governments considered the adoption of foreign culture as an important policy for the betterment of state governance. Several exchange programmes were conducted during both periods. These policies also coincided with the colonial policy of the government in the pre-war days when Japan struggled to be a leader of Asia. Music and performing arts of the first phase were regarded as the ideal of ‘one Asia’. Music from several Asian countries came together in Japan and created a new dimension (Tanabe, 1943).

Research on the Indian influences on Japanese traditional performing arts should focus on both phases of internationalisation. In the first phase, Indian performing arts were brought to Japan through China along with Buddhism, which originated in India. In the second phase, scholars tried to find Indian elements embedded in the traditional Japanese performing arts of the first phase, one of which was Gagaku.

Gagaku is a performing art with dance and orchestra music which consists of

wind, string, and percussion instruments. This is one of the oldest traditional performing arts, having been preserved for over 1,400 years in Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, and the Imperial Court. Some repertoires are said to have originated in India since two Buddhist monks, Bodaisenna (Bodhisena, circa 704-760) from South India and Buttetsu (Phat Triet) from Rinyu (Champa) arrived in Japan in 736 and imparted knowledge of performing arts to temple musicians and dancers. Gagaku was maintained by both religious institutions and the Imperial Court as a part of rituals in those days. When the military class was in ascendance in the twelfth century, the Imperial Court lost its power and could not continue to patronise Gagaku although some temples and shrines maintained this practice. Many compositions have been lost and its practical performing styles naturally underwent considerable changes during this transitional period.

Almost all ancient Buddhist performing arts had died out in India and their historical records are not available today. Thus, it is difficult to precisely reconstruct the original Indian repertoires by tracing back more than 1,000 years. Nevertheless, scholars belonging to the second phase of internationalisation were able to find several Indian elements in the modern practice of Gagaku. Today, it is easier to access materials on Buddhist performing arts in India. I will explore the transformation of Indian elements of Gagaku with reference to articles written by scholars belonging to the first phase to bridge the ancient and the modern forms of Gagaku through a careful examination of such materials including literature, performances, temple pictures, and sculptures.

2. Reviewing the History of Gagaku

2-1. The Outline of Gagaku

I start with a brief history of Gagaku as mentioned in general writings on Japanese traditional performing arts. *Nihon-shoki* (the oldest chronicles of Japan) presents the earliest record of the importation of the foreign performing arts into Japan. Eighty musicians and dancers from Shinra (Silla in the Korean Peninsula) visited Japan and performed in AD 453 at Emperor Ingyo's funeral. Thereafter, several music and dance troupes from East Asian countries settled in Japan and imparted knowledge on their performing techniques including music theory, musical instruments, compositions, and so on. However, there is a few precise records mentioning the details of these performing arts. In 554, four musicians from Kudara (Baekje in the Korean Peninsula)

visited Japan. In 612, Mimashi, a performing artist from Kudara, introduced Gigaku (mask dance drama) to Japan.

In 538 or in 552, Buddhism was officially introduced in Japan, although according to Chinese records, five Buddhist monks from Gandhara were said to have visited Japan in 467. Buddhism gained a firm grip on Japanese life during the Asuka period (538-710) and the Nara period. Adopting foreign cultures from China, Korea, India, and other Asian countries, Kenzuishi and Kentoushi had been sent to China to study Chinese culture from 607 (the Asuka period) till 894 (the Early Heian period). Their purpose was threefold: to learn advanced technologies and knowledge, to collect Buddhist sutras, and to gather information on foreign countries. The Imperial Music Bureau (Utamainotsukasa or Gagakuryo) was first established as one of the departments attached to the Imperial Court in 701. Thereafter, Gagaku was officially reorganised as part of the Imperial rituals.

After the suspension of sending scholars in the Heian period, imported foreign culture was gradually transformed according to Japanese tastes by intermingling with indigenous culture. When the military class was in ascendance in the twelfth century, the authorised powers of the Imperial Court began to weaken. Owing to the Onin War (1467-1477), Kyoto especially fell into ruin and many performing artists scattered to get away from Kyoto. The Imperial Music Bureau broke up. Since then, the number of musicians gradually decreased, and many compositions were lost.

After peace was restored in Kyoto, the Imperial Court tried to reconstruct their rituals, including the Gagaku performance, by collaborating with musicians and dancers belonging to the temples and shrines where Gagaku had been preserved somehow. Accordingly, three main music bureaus played an important role in preserving the tradition. They were the Tennoji-gakuso at the Shitennoji temple in Osaka, the Nanto-gakuso at the Kasugataisha shrine in Nara, and the Ouchi-gakuso at the Imperial Court in Kyoto. In the Tokugawa Shogunate period (1603-1867), musicians and dancers belonging to these three groups were invited to get together in Edo (present-day Tokyo) and the Momijiyama Music Bureau was established as a result. Gagaku enjoyed the patronage of the Shogunate Government, which introduced the system to examine musicians' abilities and knowledge (Sanpo-kyudai). Thanks to this system, musicians, dancers, and scholars made efforts to restore the tradition of Gagaku and lost compositions were revived. The Gagaku performance that continues till date was re-established in this period.

In 1890, the Meiji Government reorganised these music bureaus to restore Gagaku and established the Gagaku Bureau, which is the present Music Department,

Board of the Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Agency. The difference between the medieval Music Bureau and the modern Gagaku Bureau is that the former concentrated on preserving the Gagaku tradition alone while the latter practised both Gagaku and Western music repertoires[1]. Today, Gagaku is not only part of the regular repertoire of the Music Department that is performed at the Imperial Palace but is also widely performed at temples and shrines.

2-2. Distinctive Scholars Who Investigated the Origin of Gagaku

The second phase of internationalisation since the Meiji period is also characterised by the investigation of Gagaku, especially on the historical procedure of transformation and the quest for its original form. Since it was established as the Imperial music authorised by the Meiji Government, Gagaku symbolised the nation-state centred on the Emperor whose historical legitimacy should be authorised. Therefore, the Meiji Government undertook a review and reconstructed the nationalistic descriptions of Japanese history.

At first, the investigation of Gagaku was carried out intensively by Orientalists or Indologists who specialised in Buddhism, Sanskrit, and Indian philosophy. It was natural for them to focus on the origin of Gagaku in discovering the linkage between Japan and India since the cultural relations between Japan and China through Gagaku had been considerably studied during the Edo period (1603-1868). According to studies by Indologists, Japanese music in the first phase was heavily influenced by Indian music though it must have been transformed in China. Among these scholars, Junjiro Takakusu (1866-1945) was the first to show interest in the Indian elements in Gagaku. He studied at the University of Oxford. Under the guidance of Max Muller, he became an Orientalist. Takakusu achieved significant milestones in the field of Indology. He founded the Sanskrit Course in the University of Tokyo. He also edited several Buddhist sutras and wrote several articles.

Studies on Gagaku by Orientalists and Indologists are undoubtedly important. However, the major contributions to research on Gagaku has been made by musicologists. Kenzo Hayashi (1899-1976) was one of the earliest among musicologists. Though he was a sculptor by profession, he studied musicology on his own. He investigated the musical instruments preserved in the Shosoin repository near the Todaiji temple in Nara and the Chinese Court music that flourished during the Sui

[1] Since the practical side of the transformation of Gagaku in the Meiji period has been studied (Tsukahara, 2009), I will concentrate on the linkage between India and Japan.

and Tang Dynasties. Till the mid-twentieth century, it was difficult for scholars to visit foreign countries to conduct field work. Thus, they depended on literature. One of the areas that researchers focused on was exploring phonetic similarities between Japanese and Sanskrit. Hayashi's study of musical terms appearing in the Buddhist sutras was a good example of this (Hayashi, 1937).

At the same time, Japanese musicologists who received formal education on Western musicology also began to analyse traditional Japanese music. Leading scholar Hisao Tanabe (1883-1984) was one of them. He was the first musicologist to study traditional Japanese music using scientific approaches based on Western musicology. He graduated in acoustics from Tokyo Imperial University, where he learned both, Western and Japanese music. He studied the temperament of musical instruments preserved in the Shosoin repository and the Imperial Court. He also conducted field research on music in Korea, Taiwan, Okinawa, China, and Sakhalin. He was the first president of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music, founded in 1936.

Tanabe's contributions were undoubtedly great. However, his perspective was not immune from the colonialism of the then Japanese Imperial Government (Tsuge, 1998). He compiled a gramophone record titled 'Toa no Ongaku' meaning 'Music from East Asia', which symbolised his perception of Japanese colonial policy. This gramophone record included music from China, Mongolia, Java, Bali, India, and Iran - all the countries located in East Asia that the Japanese Imperial Government wanted to unite. Accordingly, Tanabe tried to reconstruct the ideal of Asiatic music that shared features inherited from a common ancestor, which was preserved in Japan but not in China or India.

An important follower of Hisao Tanabe was Shigeo Kishibe (1912-2005). Under Tanabe's guidance, Kishibe and other musicologists specialised in Asiatic music. He was the first musicologist to introduce full-scale comparative musicology. After graduating in Oriental history from Tokyo Imperial University, Kishibe studied both Japanese and Asiatic music. Based on his perspective of diffusionism, he suggested that the four-string lute with a curved neck such as the present Chinese *pipa* and the Japanese *biwa* originated in the Iranian lute (*barbat*), while the *gogen-biwa* (a five-string lute with a straight neck preserved in the Shosoin repository) originated in the Indian lute (*kacappi vīṇā*) based on his investigation of philological sources, musical instruments, ancient pictures, and sculptures.

Fumio Koizumi, the most important musicologist after World War II (1927-1983), was the first to study Indian classical music in India. He introduced full-scale ethnomusicology to academic institutions. Though he did not focus on

Gagaku much, his contribution to studies on Japanese traditional musical scales and its rhythmic system is important for academic development in Japanese musicology[2]. Based on past written records, Tanabe and Kishibe concentrated their research on the relations between ancient Indian and Japanese music. On the other hand, Koizumi conducted field research on current musical practices in India[3]. He learned how to play the *vīṇā* in the Central College of Carnatic Music, Madras (the present Government Music College, Chennai) and the *sitār* in the Bhatkhande College of Hindustani Music, Lucknow, in 1957-58. Information and material on Indian music increased as a result of the practical field study that he and his followers undertook. Thanks to him and his followers' practical field study, thereafter the information and materials related to the Indian music have been increased tremendously.

Chinese scholars have specialised in ancient Japanese music supposed to have been brought from the Sui and Tang dynasty. In recent years, these scholars have also begun to engage with the origin of Gagaku and the reconstruction of ancient music performed on musical instruments by decoding scores preserved in the Shosoin repository.

In the following chapters, I will examine the Indian influence on Gagaku with reference to articles written by these scholars.

3. The Contributions of Bhodaisenna and Buttetsu

3-1. Buddhist Monks from India and Geographical Confusion

The most famous Buddhist monk from India during the Nara period was Bodaisenna, the brahmin priest-cum-scholar born in South India. While there have been no Indian or Chinese records on his life so far, a few Japanese records say that he initially went to China. There, he got acquainted with the Japanese envoy. On the invitation of Emperor Shomu (701-756), he arrived in Japan in 736. He resided in the Daianji temple where he taught Sanskrit and established the Kegon school of Buddhism based on *Kegon-kyo* (*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-Sūtra*). Buttetsu was another monk who came to Japan with Bodaisenna. He was born in Champa and went to South India where he became a disciple of Bodaisenna. Since he was good at the performing arts,

[2] I will not take up his studies on Japanese traditional music in general including Gagaku in this paper because he did not pursue ancient Indian music theory.
[3] Unlike Koizumi, both Tanabe and Kishibe did not conduct their field research in India but in the neighbouring countries of China and Korea.

he imparted knowledge on music and dance to Japanese musicians.

The life of Bodaisenna is mainly known from the following two records:

R1: 'Nantenjiku Baramon Sojo Hi Narabi ni Jo (An Introduction to the Monument of the South Indian Brahmin Priest of the higher rank)' written in 773 by his disciple Shuei, who belonged to the Daianji temple
R2: 'Daianji Bodai Denrai-ki (Biography of Daianji Bodai)' included in *Todaiji-yoroku* (The Digest Record of the Todaiji Temple) volume 2.[4]

R1 was written immediately after Bodaisenna's death, while R2 was edited in the twelfth century when the Todaiji temple lost its power due to the growth of the military class. On the other hand, the life of Buttetsu is not well known because of the lack of documents chronicling his life. The above records mentioned that Bodaisenna, the famous Indian monk along with Buttetsu, the monk of Rinyu or Senba (Champa), left China (Tang dynasty) by boat and arrived in Japan. Further, both records are well informed on their activities and their relationships with Japanese monks after their arrival, but do not have many details of their lives before that.

Orientalists and Indologists have studies both these records. However, there are inconsistencies in the accounts of both records and their scholarly interpretations. According to R1, Bodaisenna hailed from a brahmin family in South India, and belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra. On the other hand, R2 says that he hailed from Kapilavastu in Minamitenjiku (South India). In reality, Kapilavastu was the capital of the Shakya kingdom, and was situated on the India-Nepal border, which was in the North. Prince Siddartha had lived there until he left the palace at the age of 29. This geographical problem might have been caused by the confusion of the birthplace of Buddha with that of Bodaisenna.

Another geographical confusion was also found in the birth place of Buttetsu. R1 says that Buttetsu was a monk from Rinyu, while R2 says that Buttetsu was a monk from Senba (Champa), namely Rinyu, located in Kitatenjiku (North India). Though the Champa kingdom, which is located in today's Central and South Vietnam, was preceded by the Rinyi (Rinyu) kingdom, there was another Champa located near

[4] R1 is included in the *Gunsho-ruiju*, volume 5, as assembled by Hokiichi Hanawa between 1793-1819. R1 has been studied by several scholars (Kuranaka, 2015; Nakamura, 1958, pp. 52-61 et al.) The full text of *Todaiji-yoroku* including R2 is available on this website:
http://redbird.no-ip.info/archives/%E8%B3%87%E6%96%99/%E6%9D%B1%E5%A4%A7%E5%AF%BA%E8%A6%81%E9%8C%B2.htm

today's Bhagalpur in Bihar, North India. We can find the same geographical confusion in *Fuso-ryakuki* (Japanese historical text) written in 1094 and other similar records written in later periods.

Scholars who investigated the activities of Bodaisenna and Buttetsu have discussed this problem, too. Almost all scholars agree that Bodaisenna was from South India, from around the basin of the Krishna River. Perhaps he hailed from a place such as Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati, or Jeggayyapeta, where Mahayana Buddhism originated and was nurtured in its early stages. On the other hand, while some scholars say that Buttetsu was from Vietnam (for example, Onishi, 2015; Takakusu, 1907), some say that he was from North India (Tanaka, 1964), and still others say that his existence itself is questionable (Tsuda, 1916). As the purpose of this paper is deeply concerned with geographical questions and the relationship between music and localities, we cannot ignore this problem. Before proceeding to the analysis of Gagaku, I would like to examine the Buddhist universe and geographical imagination in ancient Japan.

Before the sixteenth century, there was a geographical concept of three countries: Honcho (Japan), Todo (China), and Tenjiku (India) which consisted of the ancient Buddhist universe. The Indian subcontinent was also called Nansenbushu (the southern state of Mt. Meru or South Jambudvīpa) which consisted of five Tenjiku: North, South, East, West, and Central. Shumisen (Mt. Meru), the sacred mountain of the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology, and the centre of the spiritual universe, was located to the North of Nansenbushu. In this geographical concept, Southeast Asia was considered a part of Tenjiku.

The map that described the five Tenjiku in 1364, was preserved in the Horyuji temple. This map is the earliest example of this geographical concept. Even after the Westerners brought the world map in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the concept of the three countries continued to dominate. Another map, titled 'Nansenbushu Bankokushoka no Zu' described by Hotan, a Buddhist monk in 1710, was the first Buddhist world map printed in Japan. This map indicates the mixed image of five Tenjiku and the world map brought by Westerners (Ishizaki, 2014).

These maps describing the Buddhist universe suggest that the geographical imagination in those days was quite limited. Thus, confusion pertaining to locations may have been unavoidable. Further, the main pilgrimage routes overlapped with the trade routes. The Northern routes of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism corresponded to the Northern routes of the Silk Road, and the tea and horse road. The southern route of Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism corresponded to the Maritime Silk Road. Since the circulation of products along with the exchange of culture had become more

frequent between India and parts of Southeast Asia through the Maritime Silk Road, Buttetsu must have travelled between Vietnam and India freely[5]. Further, Bodaisenna and Buttetsu were not the only monks from the Western regions of Asia in those days (Nakamura, 1958; Takakusu, 1930)

Consequently, it is possible to presume that Buttetsu, who hailed from Champa, located in either today's Vietnam or North India, became a disciple of Bodaisenna in South India, and that they travelled to China and then to Japan, together.

3-2. Daibutsu-kaigen-kuyo

In the first phase of internationalisation, Daibutsu-kaigen-kuyo, the eye-opening ceremony held in 752 was a highly distinguished Buddhist event. With an attendance of about 10,000 monks and 4,000 dancers, it was celebrated to mark the completion of the Great Buddha statue (Daibutsu) at the Todaiji temple in Nara. Bodaisenna and Buttetsu participated in this event. According to the descriptions of this event in R2, Bodaisenna performed the 'eye-opening' of the Great Buddha statue, while Buttetsu dedicated the performing arts, by producing at least three compositions called Bosatsu, Batou, and Bairo, along with Japanese musicians. This was a large-scale cultural pageant with various performances during the ceremony, such as Syomyo, the Buddhist chant, and Gigaku, the mask dance drama, along with Gagaku. The detailed description of this cultural pageant is available in *Todaiji-yoroku*. Before discussing Gagaku, I will briefly explain Shomyo and Gigaku that included Indian elements as well.

The term Shomyo is derived from *śabda-vidya* (the knowledge of sound syllables). It refers to Buddhist chants that originated in the Vedic chants that were brought to Japan through China along with the introduction of Buddhism. There are three kinds of chants according to the language used in the Buddhist sutras: Bonsan in Sanskrit, Kansan in Chinese, and Wasan in Japanese. Not only Bodaisenna, but also Buttetsu, imparted the knowledge of Shittan (or *śiddham*, the writing system of Sanskrit) to Japanese monks at the Daianji temple where they resided. According to these scholars, this was the first experience for the Japanese to study authentic

[5] Research on these trade and pilgrim routes in ancient periods have also been studied in recent times. Whereabouts of ancient Chinese names indicating regions in Central and West Asia have also been gradually explored by scholars (Mori and Kaneko, 2017; Moriyasu, 2007).

Sanskrit[6].

The basic form of Shomyo, called Hoyo (Hoe), the assembly for dharma, is a dramatic presentation of the Buddhist doctrine. There are two main types: the Shika-hoyo, which consists of Bai (praising Buddha's beauty), Sange (pouring flowers), Bonnon (praising Buddha's voice), and Shakujo (crosier); and the Nika-hoyo, which consists of Bai and Sange alone. According to several temple records, Bugaku and other musical performances were incorporated as part of the large-scale performance of Shika-hoyo, as we can find good examples in the programme of Daibutsu-kaigen-kuyo. Another example is Shoryoe, the ritual performed on the anniversary of Shotokutaishi's death, held at the Shitennoji temple in Osaka (Ono, 2013; Minamitani, 2008). The medieval practice of Shoryoe has been maintained till date since the Shitennoji temple is away from Kyoto and the Onin War did not affect this temple much. There are two main schools of Vajrayana Buddhism in which monks perform orthodox Shomyo: the Tendai sect founded by Saicho (767-822) and the Singon sect founded by Kukai (774-853). As Bodaisenna was an expert in chanting the Kegon-kyo, he must have taught the Japanese monks to chant.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gigaku, brought to Japan by Mimashi of Kudara, is a mask dance drama. It consists of a procession and a pantomime with comical elements. It was once performed as a religious service conducted mainly on Buddha Jayanti at Buddhist temples. The frequency of Gigaku performances declined around the sixteenth century and eventually died out. Today masks, costumes, and a few documents have been preserved in some temples. Owing to the lack of detailed information, it is difficult to reconstruct Gigaku, as the experience of a few artists who have tried to so far, shows[7]. The international characters traced to parts of West Asia, India, and China can be recognised from the masks and the other materials that have been preserved. The 14 characters of Gigaku are classified into four different categories:

1) Kojin (Aryans from West Asia): (1) Chido, a street guardian leading the

[6] Some scholars like Nakamura (1958) say that the invention of the Japanese syllabary order was inspired by Shittan.

[7] Gagaku Music Society of Tenri University began to perform Gigaku at the Todaiji temple in 1975. This was the first example of reconstruction. Shingigaku (2001), compiled by Mannojo Nomura, a Kyogen artist who collaborated with artists from other Asian countries, has been performed several times not only in Japan but also in the US, China, and Korea. The National Theater, Japan Arts Council, also put up a performance of Gigaku in 2012.

procession, who has a long nose, finds and removes evil spirits on the street. (2) Baramon, a brahmin who committed adultery and washes nappies. (3) Suiko-o, a drunken king, and (4) Suiko-ju, his follower who came from Ko (Hu, Central and West Asia).

2) Gojin (People of Go or Wu): (5) Goko and (6) Gojo, a king and his wife from Go in South China, who are protected by their servants, (7) Kongo, a holder of Vajra, (8) Rikishi, a wrestler. Konron is chastened by Kongo and Rikishi as Konron entices Gojo with obscene actions, (9) Taiko-fu and (10) Taiko-ji, an old man and a child who embrace the Buddhist faith pray to Buddha.

3) Nankaijin (People from the Southern sea): (11) Konron with his large black face symbolises a villain from the Southern countries[8].

4) Irui (beasts and birds): (12) Karura (Garuda), an Indian sacred bird that fights serpents, Nagas, or Vāski and eats them after the defeating them, (13) Shishi and (14) Shishi-ko, a lion and his child, who bite and destroy evil spirits found by Chido.

As mentioned above, several Indian characters can be found in Gigaku, such as Baramon and Garuda. The role of Chido with a long nose seems similar to that of Ganapati, who removes obstacles. The red skin and big noses of Suiko-o and Suiko-ju indicate that Aryans are represented, and the black skin of Konron indicates Dravidians are also represented in the categorisation of facial expressions in Gagaku masks[9]. The Gagaku masks and the choreographic movements of the mask dance repertoires reflect the relationship between both ethnic groups. The dramatic presentation with comical movements performed by Baramon and Konron in Gigaku is also found in Gagaku. Thus, Gagaku and Gigaku are said to correlate with each other on several points[10].

4. Transformation of Gagaku

4-1. The First Transformation of Gagaku

According to the description in *Todaiji-yoroku*, the following performing arts were presented during the eye-opening ceremony held at the Todaiji temple in 752. In the

[8] Some say that Mt. Konron was supposed to have been located in the southern part of Nansenbushu, the south of Mt. Meru in South India (Kuroda, 2014).

[9] This point will be discussed in the next chapter.

[10] Most of the earliest studies of Gigaku in the second phase point out the relationship between Gagaku and Gigaku (Tsuda, 1915; Kawagishi, 1958)

introduction, Outa (songs for annual events held at the Imperial Palace), Kume-mai (a ritual dance led by the Kume family), and Toka (a group song and dance on the ground that originated in the Tang dynasty) and other similar pieces were performed. Then, musicians and dancers, most of whom belonged to the Music Bureau established in 701 presented Gagaku compositions brought to Japan from several Asian countries, such as: one To-kogaku (old music of Tang dynasty), one To-Sangaku (popular entertainment of the Tang dynasty), three Rinyugaku (music of Champa), one Komagaku (music of the Goryeo dynasty), one To-chugaku (new music of the Tang dynasty), one To-onnamai (women's dance form under the Tang dynasty), three Komagaku, Koma-onnagaku (women's music under the Goryeo dynasty), Toragaku (music of Tora), and Gigaku. Among them, Toragaku died out by the early ninth century[11]. Today, there is a controversy about where Tora was located. Some say that it was in Bali in Indonesia, whose name was derived from Barimai (dance of Bari) among Toragaku repertoires. Some others say that it was in Tanra in Jeju Island (Takakusu, 1907). Still others say that it was in Thailand or Tokara in Central and West Asia, based on the phonetic similarity, and accordingly, Toragaku originated in India and spread to the neighbouring areas (Tanabe, 1937; Tanaka, 1964).

There was no clear distinction between indigenous music and imported repertoires in the early times, as seen in the abovementioned programme. In the first half of the ninth century, in the Heian period (794-1185), the Imperial Music Bureau began to reorganise the Gagaku institution. The steps in reorganisation process were as follows[12]. First, the imported repertoires that were separated from indigenous music were finally settled into two divisions according to the country that the music was brought from: Togaku (music of the Tang dynasty, originated in China, Vietnam, India, Persia, and so on) was the music of the Left, and Komagaku (Korean and Manchurian music) was the music of the Right. In Togaku, dancers enter the stage from the left side and wear costumes in red while in Komagaku, dancers enter the stage from the right side and wear costumes in blue. In the process, some compositions were abolished, and

[11] According to the record of 730 in *Shoku-nihongi* (Japanese history text completed in 797), 30 Togaku artists, 26 Kudaragaku artists, 8 Komagaku artists, 4 Shinragaku artists, and 62 Toragaku artists beside indigenous Japanese artists belonged to the Music Bureau. Toragaku was abolished in the process of the first reorganization of the Gagaku institution.

[12] Practically, the reorganization had been carried out as a long-term process by the mid-Heian period. Some criticize the process saying that it should not be called the 'reformation of the music system'. The process of the reorganization has been studied in the previous literature (for example, Ogi, 2005; Hori, 2009)

some were newly composed and added to the Gagaku repertoires. These compositions are usually divided into two genres, Bugaku (with dance) for both the Left and the Right, and Kangen (instrumental) for the Left alone. Bugaku is usually divided into four styles: (1) Bun-no-mai or Hira-mai (graceful dance), (2) Bu-no-mai (sword dance), (3) Hasiri-mai (active dance with masks), and (4) Warawa-mai (children's dance without masks but with makeup) [13].

Second, many varieties of musical instruments played for different repertoires were consolidated into fourteen main musical instruments, which were placed in the following categories: five varieties of wind instruments (*hichiriki, ryuteki, sho, komobue,* and *kagurabue*), three varieties of string instruments (*biwa, so*, and *wagon*), and six varieties of percussion instruments (*kakko, shoko, gakudaiko, sannotsuzumi, odaiko,* and *shakubyoshi*). Among them, ten varieties of musical instruments are used for foreign repertoires and others for indigenous repertoires[14].

Third, the tonal theory of Gagaku brought from China was simplified in accordance with indigenised tastes. The Chinese tonal theory called 'seven cho five tan', which was seven modes and five main notes (pentatonic scale, or five *svarasthāna*s) was complicated. It was derived from twelve notes in an octave. The Chinese theory was reorganised into six pentatonic modes based on two scales, Ritsu and Ryo[15] as follows:

*Ryo scale: D E F# G# A B C# D
Ichikotsucho: D E F# (G) A B (C) D
Sojo: G A B (C) D E (F) G
Taisikicho: E F# G# (A) B C# (D) E
*Ritsu scale: D E F G A B C D
Hyojo: E F# (G) A B C# (D) E
Oshikicho: A B (C) D E F# (G) A
Banshikicho: B C# (D) E F# G# (A) B

[13] Besides these, Onna-mai (women's dance) died out by the end of the Heian period.
[14] The musical instruments used for the Left were: *hichiriki, ryuteki, sho, biwa, so, kakko, shoko, odaiko,* and *gakudaiko*; and for the Right were: *komabue, hichiriki, shoko, odaiko,* and *sannotsuzumi*.
[15] The Ritsu scale corresponds to Kharaharapriya and the Ryo scale corresponds to Mecakalyāni in Carnatic music. The former almost corresponds to ṣaḍjagrāma, one of the basic scales of ancient Indian music, while the latter is said to be a basic scale of ancient Tamil music. The notes I mentioned here in Western notations indicate approximate pitches.

Musical instruments and the tonal system will be discussed in depth in the next chapter, as scholars of the second phase focused on them.

4-2. The Second Transformation

The second transformation was the result of inevitable circumstances after the rise of the military in the twelfth century. During the Onin War, many musicians and dancers left Kyoto. The decrease of musicians resulted in a decrease in the Gagaku repertoires. The three main music bureaus played an important role in preserving tradition. Since the Imperial Music Bureau was broken up due to the Onin War, musicians from Kyoto (later called Ouchi-gakuso) and Nara (Nanto-gakuso) somehow managed to attend the Imperial rituals. Though the musicians belonging to the Shitennoji temple in Osaka (Tennoji-gakuso) had not served at the Imperial Court until about the fifteenth century, they began to serve in Kyoto (Yamada, 2016).

The most important contribution towards preserving the Gagaku tradition in this period was that of *Kyokunsho*, a comprehensive treatise on Gagaku, which was written and compiled by Koma no Chikazane (1177-1242) in 1233. He was afraid that the oral tradition of Gagaku would die out under the rule of military classes and decided to write down his knowledge and his family tradition. Then, his grandson, Koma no Tomokazu (1247-1333), wrote *Zoku-kyokunsho* (circa 1270-1322). Toyohara no Muneaki (1450-1524) edited *Taigensho* in 1512. Scholars consider *Gakkaroku*, a record of Gagaku families edited by Abe Suehisa (1622-1709) in 1690, as the final compilation of all the treatises on Gagaku by the medieval era. All authors were hereditary Gagaku artists who devoted their time and effort towards preserving their tradition.

Among the abovementioned texts, the first three were written while Gagaku faced the crisis of elimination. However, *Gakkaroku* was written during the time of reconstruction under the patronage of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Accordingly, the first three were more concerned about the authors' own family traditions, while the content of *Gakkaroku* was more comprehensive than those of other treatises. In comparison with *Kyokunsho* focusing on Bugaku, which consists of imported repertoires as the author's family tradition, *Gakkaroku* was devoted to the detailed description of Kagura, an indigenous Shinto theatrical dance, at first, and then Saibara, an indigenous vocal Court music accompanied by the Gagaku orchestra. This fact suggests that the Tokugawa Shogunate preferred to patronise more indigenous repertoires than imported

ones (Mabuchi, 1995).

During the Edo period, scholars such as Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728), Tominaga Nakamoto (1715-1746) and others wrote books on the music theory of Gagaku. The main purpose of their research was the revival of ancient musical traditions (Yamadera, 2005; Chen, 2009). Though the former was a Confucian philosopher and the latter was a rationalist and therefore critical of Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism, both paid attention to the ancient Chinese tonal system that had been left behind among the Gagaku musicians since the reorganisation in the ninth century. Ogyu, as a Confucianist, tried to revive the ancient Confucian ritual music that had died out in China. In fact, Chinese Gagaku (yayue) was the music for Confucius' rites based on their ethics, while the Japanese Gagaku was Chinese secular music that was enjoyed in any feast and at entertainment events held in the Imperial Court (Amano, 1985). Tominaga, as a rationalist, calculated the exact pitch of each note used in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese music and tried to explore the tonal system of ancient Asian music (Yokota, 2006)[16]. Both Ogyu and Tominaga did not, however, write anything on the Indian tonal system that was supposed to have been brought to China around the sixth century.

Thus, Gagaku was not only revived but also studied during the Edo period. The Tokugawa Shogunate patronised both artists and scholars to strengthen the authorised power by adopting Imperial Court music. Further, because of the isolationist foreign policy for a period of over 220 years till 1853, the cultural exchange and trade relations between Japan and other countries were severely limited. Consequently, the indigenisation of imported Gagaku repertoires had been accelerated despite the restoration of Gagaku as patronised by the Government.

4-3. Rinyugaku (Champa) or Tenjikugaku (India)

There are Bugaku compositions called Rinyugaku, the music from Rinyu or Champa, among the Togaku repertoires (the Left). Bodaisenna and Buttetsu are supposed to have brought these pieces and imparted knowledge on them to Japanese musicians and dancers. *Kyokunsho* tells us that the dancers of Bosatsu, Karyobin, Bato, and Bairo should enter the stage to Rinyu-ranjo (entrance music)[17], that Bodaisenna brought had

[16] From the Western tonal system, it is known that absolute pitch was applied in the Chinese tonal system, while relative pitch was applied in the Indian tonal system. Tominaga discussed absolute pitch that can be applied to Japanese Gagaku.

[17] According to *Kyokunsho*, Rinyu-ranjo corresponds to Kogaku-ranjo (old entrance

from Tenjiku, and that Rinyu was a country belonging to Tenjiku. They had been called Rinyugaku as Buttetsu imparted knowledge on both to Japanese musicians and dancers. The account on Daibutsu-kaigen-kuyo in *Todaiji-yoroku* included all compositions from among the above, except Karyobin. Some say that Karyobin was a later composition that became an important part of the Buddhist ritual along with Bosatsu in the ninth century (Ogi, 1982; Ono 2013).

There is a group of Rinyugaku compositions called Rinyu-hachigaku (eight compositions of Rinyu). Takakusu, Tanabe, and other scholars say that these items are Bairo, Batou, Bosatsu, Karyoubin, Ama-Ninomai, Konju, Manjuraku, and Ranryo-o by studying the account of *Kyokunsho*. Others say that these items are Bairo, Batou, Bosatsu, Karyoubin, Ama-Ninomai, Kenkikodatsu, Rinkokodatsu, and Somakusha following the account of *Taigensho*. Besides, Genjoraku, Seigaiha, and Soko are supposed to have originated from India, considering their content[18].

Different opinions expressed by various scholars belonging to the second phase are summarised as follows. Takakusu and Tanabe accepted the account of *Kyokunsho* and said that Buttetsu was a monk from Rinyu who came to Japan through China along with Bodaisenna, a South Indian monk. The reason they began to investigate the Indian origin was that they presumed that Buttetsu, who mastered Indian music, flourished in Rinyu and was brought up under the influence of Buddhism, Hinduism, and other aspects of Indian culture. Thus, they stated that most of Rinyugaku originated in India (Takakusu, 1907; Tanabe, 1943). On the other hand, Sokichi Tsuda was suspicious of the reliability of ancient records, denied the existence of Buttetsu, and questioned the Vietnamese origin of Rinyugaku (Tsuda, 1916). Tanaka (1964) said that Champa was not located in what is now known as Vietnam, but rather, was located in North India. He also claimed that Bodaisenna and Buttetsu had come to Japan through the Maritime Silk Road. After going through the above articles and ancient texts carefully, Kishibe concluded that Buttetsu went to South India through the Maritime Silk Road, and then went to China with Bodaisenna through the Silk Road and finally reached Japan. Tenjiku-gi (Indian music), one of the Jubu-gi (ten types of secular Court music brought

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music), which suggests that Rinyugaku belonged to the ancient tradition. Takakusu (1907) says that Kogaku (old music) indicates the music before the Tang dynasty and Shingaku (new music) belonged to the period after the Tang dynasty.

[18] Both *Kyokunsho* and *Taigensho* do not use 'Rinyu-hachigaku', but rather, use 'Rinyugaku'. They describe each composition. Rinkokodatsu and Kenkikodatsu were composed for the performance of Sangaku, the acrobatic entertainment that was popular in the Tang dynasty. In *Taigensho*, the reason why these compositions were considered as Rinyugaku seems unclear.

to China from other Asian countries) that had been performed at the Court of the Tang dynasty[19], was transmitted to Japan.

Today, quite a few scholars from China have joined the above discussion. Studying Chinese treatises on music from the Sui and Tang Dynasties, they conclude that the Gagaku compositions that were brought to Japan through China in those days formed a part of the Court music but were not part of Buddhist music as Kishibe suggested earlier (Wang, 2010; Wang, 2014, 2015). Watanabe denied the account of Daibutsu-kaigen-kuo in *Todaiji-yoroku* and said that three Rinyugaku compositions were not performed on this occasion as their costumes and lists had not been preserved in the Shosoin repository. He concluded that the music called Rinyugaku was part of Kijigaku and Seiryogaku, the music from Central and West Asia which flourished in China. In any case, Kishibe and other scholars who followed his view never denied the Indian origin of some parts of the Gagaku repertoire.

Since Rinyu and Tenjiku were not geographically differentiated in the description of *Kyokunsho*, scholars have agreed that most Rinyugaku compositions might have originated in India. Today, most of them are also called Tenjikugaku. We can presume that Buttetsu mastered these performing arts during his stay in India under the guidance of Bodaisenna. Otherwise he may have mastered them while he was in Champa where the Indian performing arts flourished[20].

An outline of each Tenjikugaku composition where I will point out Indian influences with reference to previous studies is presented below[21].

Bosatsu: (Bodhisattva): The choreography is unknown as this item was abolished during the reorganisation in the Heian period. The composition is said to describe an old man and woman, where one is blind and the other is crippled. They had recovered thanks to the mercy of Bodhisattva. The reason why the Music Bureau abolished this

[19] The music genres belonging to Jubugi are as follows: Engaku, Seigaku, Seiryogaku, Koraigaku, Tenjikugaku, Kijigaku, Sorokugaku, Kokokugaku, Ankokugaku, and Koshogaku (讌楽・清楽・西凉楽・高麗楽・天竺楽・亀玆楽・疏勒楽・康国楽・安国楽・高昌楽).

[20] Ogi examined previous studies by these scholars and arrived at a reasonable conclusion (Ogi 1982). We should not refute the previous accounts of Rinyugaku and the contributions of Bodaisenna and Buttetsu.

[21] I did not present an outline of Manjuraku here because Takakusu says that this was a new composition by Buttetsu during his stay in Japan (Takakusu, 1907), and Tanabe says that according to Takakusu's view, it was not possible to recognize that this as one of the Tenjikugaku repertoires (Tanabe, 1938).

item was that it was a religion-oriented Buddhist ritual. Since the score is available even today, the music of 'Bosatsu' has been recently restored. It has been performed at temples. The programme of Shoryoe held in the Shitennoji temple features the procession of the Gagaku musicians and dancers, Shishi and Bosatsu, led by monks. Though two Bosatsu wearing masks only practice the procession and turn on the stage, and do not show their dance, their existence indicates how the ancient practices of Gagaku and Gigaku were. This is useful in reconstructing the lost performing arts. After their procession ends, Karyobin and other Bugaku repertoires are performed.

Karyobin (Karyobinga): The Kalavinka bird appears in Buddhist sutras. Originally, it was considered a sparrow-like bird living in the snowy mountains of the Himalayas and was reputed to have had a melodious voice. Later, the Buddhist sutras stated that the Kalavinka bird lived in the paradise of Amitabha Buddha. In a pictorial presentation in the ancient Buddhist arts of Japan, China, and other Southeast Asian countries, Karyobin is a celestial musician with the head of Bodhisattva and a winged body. He is often seen holding a musical instrument. In Indian mythology, a celestial musician with a human head and a bird's body is usually called Kinnara or Gandharva. Among ancient Buddhist remains in Asia, we can find a lot of sculptures, reliefs, and paintings of Karyobin, Kinnara, and Gandharva. Karyobin of Gagaku is Warawa-mai performed by four children or supplementary priestesses who set wings on their back and play the small cymbals (*dobyoshi*) during their dance.

Bairo: The meaning and origin of Bairo are not clear. While Nakamura (1958) says that Bairo corresponds to Bhairava or Śiva, others say that Bairo is a celestial Buddha, namely Vairocana (Dainichinyorai, the supreme Buddha in Vajrayana Buddhism). According to Takakusu (1907) and Tanabe (1938), it can be presumed that it was a war-dance of the king of the Asura, Vairocana, or the ancient Indian king Bairocikāna who converted to Buddhism and ruled the people wisely. This composition had been performed on the Buddha Jayanti (8th April) festival called Hero (Bairo) held annually at the Toshodaiji temple in Nara. Bairo is Bu-no-mai performed by four men with a spear, as a prayer for victory.

Bato: Takakusu claimed that Bato was an Indian king named Pedu. Tanabe (1938) accepted his claim. Pedu is a Vedic Rājaṛsi who appeared in the hymn for Aśvins of the *Ṛg-veda*[22]. He also played a part in a charm against serpents in the *Atharva-veda*[23],

[22] *Ṛg-veda* translated into English by Griffith (1896) says as follows:

where his horse was invoked to slay serpents. This is one of the repertoires of Hashiri-mai that involves active movements. The dancer wears a mask which has red skin, a big nose, and big eyes. This kind of a mask is said to represent the Aryans. The dance described either an angry father whose son was killed by a beast, or a jealous queen from the Tang dynasty.

Genjoraku: This marks a dance by an Indian king, Pedu (the same as Bato), out of the joy of finding a serpent. This is a solo dance though a serpent carrier appears during the performance. Pedu takes up a snake model and slays its head. Since 'Genjoraku' and 'Bato' share common characteristics, they are usually performed as a pair of compositions called Tsugaimai. The view of Takakusu (1907) that the main character of Genjoraku also corresponds to King Pedu who appeared in the *veda*s seems to facilitate a reasonable conclusion that Pedu is related to slaying serpents.

Ama-ninomai: The word 'Ama' is said to have been derived from the Indian word

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The white horse which of ye gave Aghāśva, Aśvins, a gift to be his wealth forever, -Still to be praised is that your glorious present, still to be famed is the brave horse of Pedu (1-116). O Aśvins, wearing many forms at pleasure, on Pedu ye bestowed a fleet-foot courser, - Strong, winner of the thousand spoils, resistless the serpent slayer, glorious, triumphant (1-117). A white horse, Aśvins, ye bestowed on Pedu, a serpant-slaying steed sent down by Indra, - Loud-neighing, conquering the foe, high-mettled, firm-limbed and vigorous, winning thousa nd treasures (1-118). A horse did ye provide for Pedu, excellent, white, O ye, Aśvins, conqueror of combatants, - Invincible in war by arrows, seekingheaven worthy of fame, like Indra, vanquisher of men (1-119). On Pedu ye bestowed, Aśvins, a courser white, mighty with nine-and-ninety vried gift of strength, - A horse to be renowned, who bore his friend at speed, joy-giving, Bhaga-like to be invoked of men (10-39).

[23] *Atharva-veda* translated into English by Griffith (1896) says as follows: Charm against serpents, invoking the horse of Pedu that slays serpents (7-10-4). The horse of Pedu slays the kasarnīla, the horse of Pedu slays the white serpent, and also the black. The horse of Pedu cleaves the head of the ratharvī, the adder (7-10-4-5). O horse of Pedu, go thou first: we come after thee! Thoushalt cast out the serpents from the road upon which you come! (7-10-4-6) Here the horse of Pedu was born; from here is his departure. Here are the tracks of the serpent-killing, powerful steed! (7-10-4-7). Here is the remedy for both the aghāsva and svaga! Indra and Pedu's horse have put to naught the evil-planning (aghāyantam) serpant (7-10-4-10). The horse of Pedu do we remember, the strong, with strong footing: behind he, staring forth, these adders (7-10-4-11). 'Go onward, horse of Pedu! Go thou first: we follow after thee. Cast thou aside the Serpents from pathway whereupon we tread. Here was the horse of Pedu born: this is the way that takes him hence…..We fix our thoughts on Pedu's horse, strong, off-spring of a steadfast line' (10-6).

‘Ammā’, which refers to the Mother Goddess. The two Ama dancers wear masks. An abstract human face is painted on silk-covered thick paper called Zomen. Soon after the two Ama dancers finish dancing, Ninomai, the second dance, begins. The two dancers wear masks of an old man and a woman with dark skin and ugly faces. They try to imitate Ama’s dance through comical movements. Some say that the composition symbolises the Aryan conquest over the Dravidians: where Ama represents the Aryan goddess while an old man and a woman are seen as Dravidians (Tanabe, 1938).

Konju: Konju refers to a drunk man from Ko (Persian or Sogdian in Central Asia) wearing a mask with big eyes, a big nose, and red skin. He is said to represent the Aryans. Though ‘Konju’ is usually not classified into Tenjikugaku, the mask worn by a dancer suggests that this was of either Indian or West Asian origin.

Ranryo-o (Ryo-o): Ranryo-o refers to a Chinese king who wears a scary mask with a figure of Garuda on his head. Takakusu says that ‘Konju’ and ‘Ranryo-o’ were old forms of Chinese music adapted by Buttetsu (Takakusu, 1907).

Soko: Soko refers to the herbal essence of styrax mentioned in *Āyur-veda*. The Mauryan king, Aśoka (272-232 BC) once fell sick. His servants were looking for styrax for a week. He was given the essence of styrax and recovered from his illness. He ordered his minister to compose music to celebrate his recovery. Since the dancers put styrax on their heads, his Court was filled with its fragrance.

Seigaiha: Seigaiha refers to a cloth pattern in the shape of a wave of the Lake Qinghai. It was used to make dance costumes. It is said that an Indian brahmin priest once listened to the music of ‘Seigaiha’ and adapted the tune.

It is useful to make a reference to *Genjoraku-monogatari*, one of the medieval stories which first appeared in the *Bugaku-zatsuroku* (circa 1259), a digest version of *Kyokunsho,* to understand Japanese imagination inspired by Bugaku compositions. The story mixed up the four Bugaku compositions of Genjoraku, Ranryo-o, Bato, and Nasori (Komogaku). The daughter of Ryu-o, a king of Ryu (Dragon or Serpent), in India called Bato was married to Genjoraku, a king of Gen, the neighbouring country of Ryu. Genjoraku asked Bato to kill her father for possessing Ryu. They succeeded in rescuing Ryu but Genjoraku expelled Bato from his palace. Following her dead father’s advice, Bato and a minister, Nasori, fought against Genjoraku and finally won

the battle. This story had been developed among musicians and dancers belonging to Nanto-gakuso, and spread to other people. It has been repeatedly used in novels and performing arts since then (Nakahara, 1996).

These four compositions were correlated each other as they had been performed on occasions of Sumahinosechie, the Sumo wrestling event held during the Nara and Heian periods. They were considered as music for games (Hirose, 2001). These examples show us the procedures that how transformation and indigenisation followed[24].

5. An Investigation into the Indian Origin of Gaguka by Japanese Scholars

5-1. Musical Instruments of Indian Origin

Ancient musical instruments used in the Nara period are preserved in the Shosoin repository. Among them, the most interesting collections are the lute-type stringed instruments called *biwa*. There are two types of *biwa* preserved in the repository: the four-string lute with a curved neck and the five-string lute with a straight neck. The former, which originated in the *barbat* of the Sasan dynasty of Persia (AD 224-651), corresponds to the present Japanese *biwa* and the Chinese *pipa*. The latter, which originated in India, has now died out. The Radenshitan-no-gogen-biwa (a five-string lute of rosewood with mother-of-pearl inlay), also preserved in the Shosoin repository, is the sole instrument in the world that serves as a remnant of what must have been brought in from West and Central Asia. Interestingly, a man with a four-string lute with a curved neck that rides on a camel is described on the body of a five-string lute with a straight neck (Kishibe, 1936, 1982; Taki, 1951).

It is not clear why the five-string lute became obsolete while the four-string lute became popular in Japan. Some say that the playing techniques involved in the former were difficult to learn. Scholars, including Kishibe and Taki, paid a lot of attention to this five-string lute since it was quite interesting for scholars to reconstruct the obsolete music played by the five-string lute as the musical scores were preserved both in Japan and in China (Hazuka, 1937). Today, scholars and musicians have decoded these scores, reconstructed the musical instruments kept in the Shosoin repository, and revived

[24] The paintings and drawings of Bugaku also show us the transformation of costumes, masks, and so on by comparison of two books illustrated performances of Bugaku, *Bugakuzusetsu* including illustrations in the Edo period (Kawabata, 1957) and *Shinzei Kogakuzu*, oldest illustrations in the Heian period (Masamune, 1927).

ancient music[25].

We can find ancient reliefs and paintings depicting the musician who played the five-string lute in Buddhist remains, such as Ajanta, Amaravati, and other places that flourished under the Satavahana dynasty (third or first century BC to second century AD) and other fragmented small kingdoms[26]. The Satavahana rulers made remarkable contributions to Buddhist art and architecture. Amaravati is one of the Buddhist centres. It is famous for its great stupa, which is located in the present-day Krishna River Valley, Andhra Pradesh. The stupa was decorated in marble slabs and sculpted with scenes from the *Jātaka*s, chronicling the life of the Buddha. Most of the excavated reliefs are now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras, and the British Museum, London. For example, in one carving, the scene of Buddha's descent from heaven (the second century, Government Museum, Madras) shows many apsaras leading choirs of music that praised the Bodhisattva with their songs and concerts. An apsara is seen holding a five-string lute with a straight neck, similar to the *gogen-biwa* in the Shosoin. The rock-cut Buddhist cave monuments of Ajanta dating from the second century BC to fifth centuries AD include paintings and sculptures describing scenes from the *Jātaka*s. They are recognised as among the finest examples of ancient Indian art. For example, in the vihara wall painting of Ajanta Cave 1 (circa AD 475-490, the Gupta period), an apsara is seen holding a five-string lute with a straight neck.

Nāṭya-śāstra mentions four types of *vīṇā* namely *vipāñcī*, *citra*, *kaccapi*, and *ghosaka*. The *vipāñcī* is a nine-string harp and the *citra* is a seven-string harp explained in Chapter 29. The harp-type stringed instrument is called Hōshu-kugo (the neck of a phoenix) in Japan. The *kaccapi* is a lute and the *ghosaka* is a stick zither. In around the sixth and seventh centuries, the harp gradually became obsolete and the stick zither with one or two resonators became popular. A harp and a five-string lute with a straight neck have been depicted in sculptures, reliefs, and paintings of the Buddhist remains in South and Central India. On the other hand, a harp and a four-string lute with a curved

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[25] Liu Hongjun, a musician and composer from China, lived for over 40 years in Japan. He founded an orchestra called Tenpyogakufu which mainly performs revived music of ancient Japan using reconstructed musical instruments after studying the ones preserved in the Shosoin repository. Another group, called Reigkusha, is a Gagaku orchestra led by Sukeyasu Shiba, a former member of the Music Department, Board of the Ceremonies of the Imperial Household Agency. He also tried to revive the music played by ancient musical instruments.

[26] The abovementioned scholars, including Kishibe and Taki, studied musical instruments described in these ancient remains. Tsuge then took over and added to their contribution to the research on musical instruments of the ancient Silk Road (Tsuge, 1992).

neck are depicted in the sculptures, reliefs, and paintings of the Gandhara under the Kushan Empire (circa AD 30–375)[27].

Among the percussion instruments, the Japanese *tsuzumi* is said to have been derived from the Indian *dundhubi*, a large kettledrum appearing in the *veda*s (Tanabe, 1937). The *tsuzumi* is a small hourglass drum, while the *dundhubi* is praised in the *Atharva-veda* as a large kettle drum producing a loud sound at the time of war between the Devas and Asuras. Though varieties of drums are mentioned in Chapter 33 of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, *mṛdaṅga* (double-headed), *panava* (small drum), and *dardara* (frame drum) were the most popular ones among them. An hourglass drum called *aṅkya* (lap)-*mṛdaṅga* placed on the lap of the artist during the performance can be found among the variety of drums depicted in the Amaravati reliefs.

Kishibe was attracted to the paintings of flying apsaras playing the five-string lute, the Chinese harp, the panpipes, and the flute in Cave No. 8, Kyzyl Buddhist caves located in Xinjiang, China (ancient Qiuzi). He began to study the ancient music that was transferred through the Silk Road (Kishibe, 1982). The cultural connection between West and Central Asia and Japan through the Silk Road can also be found in the 'Descent of Amitabha Buddha and heavenly hosts' (1053, Byodoin, Kyoto). The piece includes a variety of musical instruments used in the Gagaku orchestra: *kakko* (two-headed drum), *kugo* (boat-shaped harp), *gakubiwa* (four-string lute with a curved neck) and *koto* (a kind of zither). The composition of musical instruments played in the Byodoin temple in those days indicates that they had been brought to Japan from other Central and Western Asian countries (Watanabe, 2013).

5-2. The Musical Theory of Indian Origin

Though the scientific study of the tonal theory of Gagaku began in the Edo period, scholars who were educated in Western musicology naturally showed interest in the complicated tonal system brought to Japan from India through China. It is said that the Chinese tonal theory of 'seven *cho* five *tan*' which later developed into 84 modes (a heptatonic scale derived from 12 notes in an octave by the modal shift of the tonic note, thus 7*12=84) was derived from the Indian seven modes system. The Indian system was brought to Japan by Sogiba (Sujiva), an expert five-string lute player from Qiuzi (Kucha), a kingdom in Central Asia where Buddhism flourished under the rule of the Kushan Empire. He visited China in 568 and taught Chinese musicians the Indian tonal

[27] I have already discussed the gogen-biwa in another article (Inoue, 2008). Here, I will concentrate more on examining others' opinions.

system. Kishibe studied the both, Chinese and Indian tonal systems, and concluded that the tonal system of the seven modes brought by Sogiba agreed with the music described in the Kudimiyamalai inscriptions (Kishibe, 1982). The seven modes brought by Sogiba are as follows: Sadariki, Keishiki, Sashiki, Sakokaran, Sara, Hansen, and Shiriso (Chinese names in Japanese pronunciation). The modes (*grāmarāga*s) mentioned in the Kudimiyamalai inscription are as follows: Madhyamagrāma, Ṣaḍjagrāma, Ṣāḍava, Sādhāritā, Pañcama, Kaiśikamadhyama, and Kaiśikā. Sakokaran might correspond to Ṣaḍjagrāma, Sara to Ṣāḍava, Sadariki to Sādhāritā, Keishiki to Kaiśikā, and Hansen to Pañcama. Sashiki and Shiriso do not agree with Kaiśikamadhyama and Madhyamagrāma on pronunciation[28].

Nāṭya-śāstra says that there are two basic scales: Ṣaḍjagrāma and Madhyamagrāma. The 7 modes of each scale are derived by a model shift of the tonic note (*mūrccanā* and *tāna* correspond to *cho* and *tan* in the Chinese tonal system[29]) and a total of 14 modes are treated. *Nāṭya-śāstra* also mentions 84 *tāna*s whose number agrees with the 84 modes in the Chinese system. *Nāradīya-śikṣā* mentions that Ṣaḍja, Madhyama, and Gāndhāra were the popular *grāma*s in ancient Indian music. There were seven *grāmarāga*s namely, Ṣāḍava, Pañcama, Ṣaḍjagrāma, Sādhāritā, Kaiśikā, Madhyama, Gāndhāragrāma. Accordingly, we can safely conclude that the seven modes system and its theory, which was brought to China by Sogiba, was quite popular in the ancient treatises on Indian music[30]. The similarities in the pronunciation of the names used for the modes of Gagaku and those of ancient Indian music can be also traced to the following examples: Sada-cho corresponds to Ṣāḍava or Sādhāritā, Taishiki-cho or Kotsujiki-cho to Kaiśikā, and Banshiki-cho to Pañcama. The Japanese Gagaku modes and those of ancient Indian music do not agree in the actual notes and pitches, despite the phonetic similarities.

We can also find Indian influences in the rhythmic theory of Gagaku. Japanese traditional music is usually based either on free rhythm or on two beats. On the other

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[28] The modes in Kudimiyamalai inscriptions mentioned by Kishibe are not written correctly.

[29] Kishibe presumed that ‘tan’ in Chinese corresponded to *tantri* (string) in Sanskrit (Kishibe, 1982) and Hayashi denied that ‘tan’ corresponds to *tāna* (Hayashi, 2017). However, the terms *mūrccanā* and *tāna* were always used together whenever scales and modes were explained in the ancient Sanskrit treatises of music. Accordingly, I am sure that *mūrccanā* (scales or modes produced by the modal shift of the tonic note) and *tāna* (a series of notes in an octave of each scale or mode) in Sanskrit correspond to cho and tan in Chinese.

[30] I have referred these points in my detailed study on Kudimiyamalai inscription (Inoue, 1993).

hand, the rhythm of Gagaku is based on time cycles, similar to Indian *tāla*s as follows: Nobe-byoshi (8/4, slow tempo), Haya-byoshi (4/4, quick tempo), Tada-byoshi (2+4, slow and quick), Yatara-byoshi (2+3, quick tempo), and Ranjo (free rhythm). Yatara-byoshi is especially said to have originated in India as the syllables 'tara' of Yatara might have been derived from the word *tāla*. Moreover, the time cycles of Tada-byoshi (sextuple measure) and Yatara-byoshi (quintuple measure) of Gagaku are not available in most of the traditional music in East and Southeast Asia. A number of Tenjikugaku repertoires are composed in Sada-cho and set to Yatara-byoshi.

Gagaku also consists of three sections in different tempos: Jo (slow, introduction), Ha (medium, development), and Kyu (quick, climax). Today the word Jo-ha-kyu is widely used to denote tempos in Japanese traditional music. It is the equivalent of the three *laya*s in Indian music: vilambita, madhya, and druta. Before the commencement of a composition, a brief introduction is rendered in free rhythm, called Netori of Bugaku and Choushi of Kangen. These introductory parts in free rhythm are reminiscent of the *rāga ālāp* in Indian music. Consequently, Gagaku music and Indian classical music share similar characteristics in the tonal system, time cycles, and the musical structure.

6. Concluding Remarks

The transformation of Gagaku can be summarised into two stages. The first stage of transformation was carried out by the Imperial Music Bureau systematically on three points. First, the reorganisation of imported Gagaku repertoires into two divisions, namely the Left and the Right; second, reducing the number of several foreign musical instruments according to the above division; and third, simplifying the tonal system into six modes derived from the two scales, Ritsu and Ryo. The second transformation was brought about by the political disorder as a result of the unavoidable ascendance of military classes. The indigenisation of Gagaku was accelerated under the patronage of the Tokugawa Shogunate when Gagaku was restored as a part of Government rituals. Scholars in those days were more interested in indigenous Japanese music than in imported repertoires.

The musicological approach of the second phase of internationalisation is characterised by the investigation of the music of the first phase, especially the imported repertoires. Scholars were inspired by the trade and cultural networks of Asia through the Silk Road and paid attention to the possibility of the Indian origin of Gagaku. Although ancient Indian music may have been modified in China and Korea,

Japanese musicologists, along with the Orientalists, tried to find the links between traditional Japanese music and ancient Indian music. Any music culture cannot remain the same as before, and the music cultures of India and Japan are no exception. Nevertheless, Japanese scholars consider India as not only the birthplace of Buddhism, but also the treasure house of ancient culture where the possible origin of Gagaku may be traced. Though modern Japanese ethnomusicologists may not share the same perception of scholars in those days, including Tanabe and Kishibe, the history and transformation of musical linkages between Japan and India remains an important topic for modern ethnomusicologists.

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